/99 cont./

755 objects out of her body and now hurled them away with gestures of disgust, amid the loud shouts of "oh" and "ah" by his helpers. During this sucking and stroking, the chorus of all the "hekurá" standing in a circle swelled to tremendous power and subsided only after Hewemãõ slowly withdrew, for his work was ended for the time being. He was bathed in sweat and, completely exhausted, lay down in his hammock, where his two wives provided him with a nourishing meal consisting of roasted tapir meat, manioc flat-cakes, and a bacaba drink.

The sick woman was not released, however, even after this five-hour cure. From 11:00 to 1:00 at night the husband and the medicine-man helpers continued it in the manner described above. The main thing was the choral singing and the dancing in step, with occasional sitting, stroking the sick woman, sucking, threatening hand movements toward an invisible opponent, spitting, etc. added. At 1:00 two more men dropped out, including the husband. The latter now lifted his wife up and laid her in her /100/ hammock, then he crouched beside her and tenderly supported her head. For about another two hours the medicine-man helpers went on singing and "curing" and after that one alone until around 5:00. Only then could the sick woman surrender herself for a short time to a well-earned rest (501). Many other members of the tribe watched this magic

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501. If patients have become very much worse, they are kept awake as much as possible to prevent their life from escaping. For if they fall asleep, death might take possession of them.

performance, above all women, who wept softly during it. They crouched in a semicircle at a somewhat greater distance and watched the proceedings with rapt attention, but only as long as the chief was acting. When he finished his work, the spectators gradually disappeared.

Unfortunately, all efforts remained unsuccessful in this case, and Hewemãõ confessed to me the next day, when the sick woman

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756 778 825 [533] The Sanemá sablí has great power over animals and plants represented in his hikuladɨ, with which he communicates while he is asleep. If he should dream about a dangerous animal, a jaguar for instance, he makes him sit down in order to begin the song ɔ̃kamɔ̃ against jaguars. This song keeps the jaguar from the rancheria, but, when it is relatively near, the hikuladɨ of the sablí goes out to kill the jaguar in the forest, where the hunters will find him dead on the following day. But if the men sent by the sablí do not find the body of the jaguar, everybody remains in the rancheria on the following day, for they fear that the Great Jaguar may be in the forest and will kill anybody found in his way.

756 533 754 [825] [774] The sablíes sing almost every night, and the bigger the animal who appears to them in their dreams, the more intense is the song. In his songs, the sablí can send any híkula from his chest to go and kill a man in a foreign rancheria, however far it is. Usually he does this at night, and on the following day the victim's companions find him dead in his hammock.

774 756 [754] [753] [761] I have the impression that the híkulas belonging to the various species are, of themselves, absolutely passive and that they behave in an active way only at the command and wish of the sablí. Most sicknesses, including death, are caused by a híkula introduced into the body of the man by the intervention of the sablí and by his magical power.

756 755 774 The priest sablí, influenced by the effects of yopo, shouts, sings, and dances around the patient. With this he attempts to scare off the harmful híkula which is striving to enter the body of the man. It is very often personified by a man who is symbolically fought by the híkula of the sablí and others chosen from his "pueblo of híkula" in his chest. The curative art of the sablí depends to a great degree on his diagnosis, according to which he chooses from his great híkula in his chest those which, by their skill, can combat the híkula or híkulas causing the sickness. It goes without saying that a young and inexperienced sablí makes mistakes in his diagnosis of identifying, from among all the possible thousands, the híkula which is causing the sickness sent by an enemy. It

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648 the Yąnomamö. This process is still going on.

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152 Ferocity and violence is further reflected in Yąnomamö cosmology. In their conception, the human soul has three [753] parts. One of these parts, the nąreshi, is capable of leav- [761] ing the body; when it does so, the person becomes ill and dies unless it (the nąreshi) returns. The nąreshi are inherited patrilineally for males and matrilineally for females. [825] Each human nąreshi has an animal or bird counterpart whose life is coextensive and coterminous with that of the human to which it corresponds. Many of the nąreshi are types of animals commonly taken by hunters. Thus, when the Yąnomamö kill game animals, they believe they also kill the human being to whom that nąreshi corresponds.[1] Hence, hunting in the eyes of the Yąnomamö is behaving fiercely, for every nąreshi animal killed also results in the death of some human, usually an enemy.

[754] Shamanism also deals in ferocity, for the Yąnomamö [756] shamans all claim to take mysterious trips to the villages of their enemies and eat the nąreshi of the enemy's children.

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156 The complex of ferocity has an important consequence
152 in Yąnomamö social organization, as aggressive behavior detracts from the solidarity of alliances between villages and creates tension within villages. Men are constrained to act ferociously and seize on every opportunity to coerce others in order to display aggressiveness. Most of the displays of

[1] They are not concerned about killing their own nąreshi, for humans and their nąreshi animals live in complementary distribution.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The noreshi animals are inherited patrilineally for men and matrilineally for women.[12] Kąobawä, for example, inherited his *noreshi* animal, the black monkey, from his father and transmitted it to his son. All his male kinsmen have the black monkey as their *noreshi*. Bahimi, Kąobawä's wife, has the dog for her *noreshi* animal, as does her mother and her daughter by Kąobawä. The *noreshi* animal of a woman always travels on the ground below the animal of the husband.

Noreshi animals duplicate the behavior of the person to whom they correspond. When Kąobawä goes hunting, so does his *noreshi* animal. When he is sick, so is his *noreshi* animal. If he takes a journey of two days, the animal likewise travels an equal distance, and so forth.

The *noreshi* animal and the person to whom it corresponds are always in complementary distribution. That is, they never come close to each other, for if they should see each other, they would both die. Their mutual existences are coextensive and coterminous: One lives only as long as the other, and both die at precisely the same instant. If a hunter should shoot Kąobawä's *noreshi* animal and kill it, Kąobawä would also be shot and would die. Similarly, if Kąobawä is shot by raiders and killed, his *noreshi* animal would suffer the same fate.

The soul aspect of the *noreshi*, however, can leave the human body at will and wander. Sickness results when the *noreshi* has left the body; unless it is brought back soon, the person will die. The *noreshi* is the vulnerable portion of the complete being, the part that is the target of witchcraft and harmful magic. The shamans (*shabori*) wage constant war against the evil demons (*bekura*) of enemy groups who have been sent to capture the *noreshi* parts of children. They, in turn, send their own *bekura* to capture the *noreshi* of enemy children; the wars that take place between men who raid to kill are likewise carried over into the domain of the supernatural.

When sickness is deemed to be the result of soul loss, the people who are closely related to the sick person hunt for his *noreshi*. I participated in one of these soul hunts. Kąobawä's group had set up a temporary camp across the river from its main village site, as they suspected raiders would attack them. While they were camped in their temporary village, one of the children became ill, and her malady was thought to be caused by soul loss. When the threat of raiders passed, the temporary camp was abandoned and the group moved back into the main village.

The child's condition worsened, so a group of women and children returned to the temporary camp, suspecting that the *noreshi* had remained there. I went along and, with the others, cut a branch from a shrub and began sweeping the site and calling for the *noreshi* to return. We swept the entire area and converged at one point. Everybody was convinced that the *noreshi* had been herded into this central point. We then lured the *noreshi* back across the river and into the body of the sick child.

The vulnerability of the *noreshi* to magical spells is best examplified by the fact that the shamans of every village spend most of their time chanting to the *bekura* (demons) with the intention of persuading them either to attack the *noreshi* of other (enemy) children or to drive off the *bekura* sent by enemy shamans. Again, the Yąnomamö used two of their concepts of the soul to describe photographs and tape recordings. They were very hostile to me when I attempted to take photographs, especially of children, because

[12]The inheritance of these "alter-ego" animals has nothing to do with marriage rules and patrilineage exogamy.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobömou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*rwo*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The